[P. 569] Wukchumni Western Mono NS25

Y 101 131 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

Y 438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y [223] 439 To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y [222] The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 437 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y M 177 [191] Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

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Y 439 648 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʔi by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (waʔtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. [437] Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choiniumi, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he
202 went directly to the chief's house. A mat was set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[437] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gušta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ned), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´nsañwide´'it) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana'nič and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the ● 437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu''us. (The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1246] Wukchumni

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normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent, tu hwas.)

To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or such was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

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Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

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Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

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Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

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Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353–373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.